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Divisional Report No. 49

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS, ATTITUDES AND PROPAGANDA IN INDIA WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR AMERICAN ORIENTATION TOWARD THE INDIANS

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Psychology Division

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS, ATTITUDES AND PROPAGANDA IN INDIA WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR AMERICAN ORIENTATION TOWARD THE INDIANS[1]

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1/ This report was originally prepared for the Foreign Information Service, but is now issued as a regular divisional report because of its possible usefulness to others.

Psychology Division

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS, ATTITUDES AND PROPAGANDA IN INDIA WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR AMERICAN ORIENTATION TOWARD THE INDIANS

The situation in India seems of crucial importance from the viewpoint of America at the present time for these reasons: (1) India's great strategic importance in the war, which needs no elaboration. (2) Axis propaganda has been carried on intensively in India in recent months, and there is reason to believe that it has had some effect. (Local bans exist, in some sections, against listening to Axis stations. So far there have been no prosecutions.) (3) India's relations with Britain and the United States have deteriorated since the failure of Cripps' mission, judging from the very recent statements of Gandhi (to the effect that American military assistance to India "amounts in the end to American influence, if not American rule, added to the British"--Harijan, April 27), and Nehru ("The gulf is greater than ever before...we will have nothing to do with the question of cooperating with British efforts in India....We can only cooperate as free men"), and perhaps from the majority by which the working committee of the All-Indian Congress Party approved Gandhi's policy of nonviolent noncooperation early in May. (4) America is in a much better position than Great Britain to counteract these undesirable trends, since our viewpoint has been one of friendliness to India and sympathy for colonial peoples in general, and since we have none of the history of conflict with India that has characterized British-Indian relationships.

Axis attacks on the United States in broadcasts to India during the past few weeks indicate a drive to undermine our prestige there, and call for propaganda by us as soon as possible to offset this Axis pressure. If such propaganda is initiated, it would be essential to appeal to those groups which are our potential allies, without antagonizing other sections of the population. (It would also be desirable to rectify our past errors, as by broadcasting materials to offset recent U.S. newspaper editorials attacking "Hindu rule or ruin," etc., which furnish excellent material to the Axis propagandists.)

The importance of speed in getting a program to India on the air can hardly be overemphasized. At present, all indications are that the Axis radios have things pretty much their own way. The American radio can do much to rectify this situation.

I. BACKGROUND FACTS AND ATTITUDES IN INDIA

A. Population

1. The total figure in 1941 was 389,000,000 (Ceylon and Burma are not included in India.)

   a. The urban population is about 11 per cent of the whole, the only great cities being Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and only 37 cities having over 100,000 population.

   b. Rural population, living in 500,000 villages of 5,000 population or less, comprises about 89 per cent of the total.

B. Government

1. The eleven British provinces include about 55 per cent of the area of India and about three-fourths (74%) of the population. They are directly under the British crown, with considerable provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act of 1935. Major provinces are Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bombay, and the Punjab; the others are Assam, the Central Provinces, Sind, the Northwest Frontier Province, Bihar and Orissa.

2. The 562 native states are feudal and undemocratic in nature, and are guaranteed by treaties with the British placing their foreign and interstate relations under British control. These range from Hyderabad, with a population of some 15,000,000, down to Bilbari, with a population of 27.

C. Economic Conditions

Two-thirds of India's gainful workers are employed in agriculture, where they earn a baresubsistence. Land holdings are only 2.5 acres per family in the United Provinces, 3.1 acres in Bengal. Moneylenders and landowners usually get a quarter to two-thirds of the peasant's income. In some cases as high as 100%. There are 15 to 20 million industrial workers, but most of these are in handicraft trades; the two million who work in modern industry earn an average of only $6 or so per month. Estimates of the per capita income of Indians range from $25 to $40 per year. As a result, some 20 per cent are claimed to be very badly nourished, and another 41 per cent are "poorly nourished." The death rate in India in recent years has ranged from 24 to about 27 per thousand--double that of England and three times that of Australia and New Zealand.

There is a growing class of Indian industrialists who own such modern industries as the Tata Iron and Steel Company and other large plants. Some of these support the Congress Party, others the British rule.

D. Religious Groups

1. Hindus. About 256,000,000 in 1941 or about 66 per cent of India's population. They are most concentrated in Central and South India. The Hindus are divided into 2000 or more mutually exclusive groups, called castes. The Hindus consider themselves to be divided into five major groups. These are the four major classes of society mentioned in the Rig Veda, and one non-caste group--the untouchables, who are considered to be below the level of the lowest caste. The chief splits are between the Brahman and the non-Brahman castes, and between the caste groups and the untouchables. Most of the castes have an occupational base; members may not intermarry, and their social relationships are greatly restricted. There may be as many as 50 sub-castes in a village of 600 people. The caste structure retains its ancient rigidity chiefly in rural, backward areas; many young, educated Indians are opposed to it or pay a minimum of attention to it. Intermarriage between castes occurs occasionally among the more emancipated Indians, but this is quite uncommon. The arrangement of castes under the five main classes mentioned above is as follows:

a. The Brahman or priest caste, comprising about 6 per cent of the total Hindu population, now includes occupations ranging from priests to cooks (who have the advantage of being able to prepare food acceptable to members of all castes). Nehru is of this caste.

b. Non-Brahman castes. These are not of great importance of themselves since sub-castes are the main lines of social organization. The main cleavage is between the Brahmans and members of other castes. In Madras, until recently, there was a political party known as the non-Brahman Party, which opposed the continuance of the special privileges enjoyed by the Brahman caste.

(1) The Kshatriya or "warrior" caste includes only perhaps 1 per cent of all Hindus. S. C. Bose is of this caste.

(2) The Vaishya or "merchant" caste includes perhaps 2 per cent of the Hindu population. Gandhi is of this caste.

(3) The Shudra or working class is by far the largest group, with over two-thirds of the Hindu population.

c. The untouchables or "depressed classes," now numbering over 50,000,000 or about a fifth of all Hindus, are a group held down by "Jim Crow" restrictions and considered unclean by caste Hindus.

The Hindu religion of India is highly "idealistic" and mystical. Essential characteristics are Karma, the doctrine of retribution for one's deeds, with the accompanying theory of reincarnation or transmigration of souls; and Ahimsa, the doctrine of non-violence. Hindus distrust Muslims mainly because of long experience under the rule of Muslim conquerors. Also Muslims eat meat, and Hindus do not; Muslims are active proselyters, Hindus are not; and, recently, the Muslims have made extravagant claims to separatism or to over-representation in any new form of Indian national state that may develop.

2. Muslims total about 90,000,000, or 23 per cent of the population. They are found chiefly in northwestern India (the Northwest Frontier Province, the Punjab, and Sind), and Bengal (where just over half of the population is Muslim), with smaller local areas of predominant Muhammadanism in other parts of North India. Muslims comprise about 35 per cent of India's armed forces of 1,000,000 or more.

The Muslims are, of course, monotheists, without caste restrictions and essentially democratic in their communal life. They tend to chafe at Hindu political control where they are in a minority. They also resent the fact that Hindus outnumber them in government and the professions (largely because of early Muslim backwardness in taking advantage of British educational facilities); and the fact that Hindus tend to control the land and money, especially in Bengal (where the Muslims predominate in numbers, but by and large are at a disadvantage economically compared to the Hindus). They also charge that All-India Congress governments in the provinces have "persecuted" them, as for example, invoking old religious laws against killing

cows (which are sacred to Hindus), even when the slaughering is done on Muslim property. They resent the growing use of Hindi rather than their own Urdu script by Indian nationalists in writing in the Hindustani language. They also resent the Hindu custom of playing music on the roads, since it is sacrilegious to do so in front of Mosques. These various issues have given rise to numerous riots in recent years.

3. Sikhs number 5,700,000, or less than 2 per cent of the population, and are found in the Punjab, mainly around Lahore. They are strongly represented in the police and army. Their religion is monotheistic and they do not have castes. They speak Punjabi, identify themselves with the Hindus rather than the Muslims, and oppose the Muslim plan for Pakistan or a separate Muslim state. They are a warlike, discontented group, with memories of the self-rule they enjoyed before the British conquered the Punjab in 1848, and might be dangerous in the event of a Japanese invasion of Northern India.

4. Jains total about 1,250,000, mainly in Gujarat (in Bombay Province) and South India, and are mainly traders. Their religion lacks a supreme deity, but believes in an indefinite number of souls.

5. Buddhists number about 440,000 in India, but are the dominant religious group in Ceylon and Burma (which are not included politically with India).

6. Parsis total about 110,000 in and around Bombay. They are Zoroastrians, who view the universe as a dualism of good and evil. They are of Persian derivation, and are largely businessmen. Generally they oppose the All-India Congress and favor British rule as the best protection of their interests.

7. There are some 6,100,000 Christians in India, including 155,500 "Europeans" (in 1931). (About 3,500 Americans were estimated to be in India in 1942.) The 100,000 or so Eurasians, of British and Indian descent, are also presumably Christians. The Moslem population has strongly resisted Christianity, and most Hindus look down on native Christians as a non-caste group made up largely of untouchables who allegedly were converted as a means of escaping their low status in the Hindu community.

8. Jews numbered only 24,000 in 1931. Although they are insignificant as a group, recent Nazi propaganda has tried to direct Indian feeling against them.

9. About 25,000,000 Indians still adhere to primitive tribal religions, particularly among the hill people.

E. Political Groups and Some of Their Leaders

1. The Indian National Congress (called the Congress Party), founded in 1885, asked for complete independence (swaraj) in 1929. At times, before and after this date, it has expressed a desire for some rule as a dominion. It has been consistently anti-fascist; it initiated a nationwide boycott of Japanese goods in 1931, just after the invasion of Manchuria, and ten years before this country brought real pressure to bear against Japan. It also denounced the invasions of Ethiopia in 1935 and of Czechoslovakia in 1938, while Britain and the U.S. were still appeasing the fascists.

The Congress is non-sectarian, but Muslims are underrepresented in it. In 1937, it entered the provincial elections under the 1935 Government of India Act and won a majority in seven of the eleven British provinces, including the (Muslim) Northwest Frontier Province, and later came to power in two others. In 1939 its ministries resigned after the Viceroy had declared war on the Axis for India without consulting the legislatures. It claims to have about 4.5 million dues-paying members, and represents roughly two-thirds of the electorate of 36,000,000. The Indian Socialists have their own bloc within the Congress. The Communist Party is insignificant in size. The present stand of the Congress is for "nonviolent noncooperation" if Japan invades. Congress "does not hate fascist aggression less, but hates Great Britain more."

a. Mohandas K. Gandhi is the chief spiritual leader of Congress and the Indian people. He eschews violence, wants to reform but not abolish the caste system, and favors a return to the village handicraft economy. Leader of many civil disobedience campaigns, he resigned from Congress in July 1940, when it offered to support the war, provided India was given her independence. He was recalled later in the year when this conditional offer was withdrawn, and again left the leadership at the close of 1941, having earlier designated as his successor:

b. Jawaharlal Nehru, a Brahman who has no sympathy with the caste system, favors industrialization under a socialist economy. Twice president of Congress, often imprisoned by the British, he is now the most active leader in Congress and is tremendously popular among the workers and peasants, particularly in North India. An outspoken opponent of fascism and aggression, he tried to reach a compromise when Cripps was in India, but he or his party and the War Cabinet could not come to an agreement on the issue of immediate self-rule for India.

c. Chakravarti Rajagopalachariar is the leader of the strong Congress Party section in, and former prime minister of, the Madras Province. A Brahman, strong supporter of Gandhi, and a former president of the All-India Congress, he is a moderate in Congress politics, and a skillful compromiser. The Madras section of the Congress Party went on record late in April as favoring recognition of the Moslem League claim for separation when a new constitution is framed for India. (There are few Muhammadans in Madras.) On April 30, "C. R." resigned from the Congress Party working committee, which criticized his stand on the Muslim issue, apparently to work for a settlement on this basis. (He probably believes that if Congress makes this gesture, a majority of Muslims will choose unity rather than Pakistan. On May 2, the Congress working committee turned down this proposal).

d. Vallabhbhai Patel is Congress Party leader in Bombay and Sind. He was born in Gujerot (Gandhi's province), in Bombay Province. He works closely with "C. R." in Madras and in the Congress.

e. Rajendra Prasad is Congress Party leader in Bihar, Assam and Orissa, was president of Congress in 1939.

f. Abul Kalam Azad, the present president of the All-India Congress, is a Muslim scholar and a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity within the Congress. Widely respected by Muslims, he is hated by Jinnah, who says "The 80 million Muslims of India have absolutely no confidence in him!" Azad declared on April 30 that whatever India's internal problems, she would fight to the death against aggression.

g. Abdul Ghaffar Khan is the Congress leader in the Northwest Frontier Province. Like Azad, he is a symbol of Congress unity. A disciple of Gandhi's nonviolence among the ordinarily violent Pathans, he is called "the frontier Gandhi."

2. The All-India Muslim League, founded in 1906, became important only in the 1930's. It claims to represent the entire Muslim community, but in the 1937 elections received only about 300,000 of the 7,000,000 Muslim votes. Since then, Jinnah's agitation has probably aroused at least some emotional loyalty in a majority of Muslims. The League actively opposes Congress, and advocates Pakistan (Muslim separatism), but a majority of Muslims would probably not support this extreme measure.

a. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a former Congress member has predicted that the Muslims will revolt if Pakistan, or 50 per cent representation in provinces where the is a Muslim minority, is not granted. The Cripps plan catered to the Muslim League in order to avoid trouble with him which might affect Muslim attitudes in the Near East. The provision for partition was a principal Congress objection to the plan. Even so, Jinnah rejected Cripps' plan.

3. The Azad Muslim Congress is an opposition group to the Muslim League, organized two years ago to represent Muslims outside the League. It opposes Jinnah's plan for Pakistan, and at the same time demands independence for India. The premiers of three out of the four Muslim provinces are on its Board: Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, premier of the Punjab, who has issued an appeal for support of Britain and the United States in the war; Fazul Huq, premier of Bengal; and the premier of Sind. (The premier of the Northwest Frontier Province is an All-India Congress Party man.)

4. The Indian Princes have their Chamber of Princes, which represents their own interests rather than those of their 80,000,000 subjects. Their people are backward, and nearly all illiterate, although Baroda, Travancore, Mysore and Cochin are very progressive. In most states the Indians have little opportunity to organize into the Congress Party. The Princes

strongly support British rule and the present war, and opposed even "federation" under the very moderate Government of India Act of 1935 as a threat to their power. The Princes have little or no support in the rest of India; Congress considers them an anachronism, and British commitments to them are a serious barrier to an Indian settlement.

5. The Hindu Mahasabha is the counterpart of the Muslim League among orthodox Hindus, strong in provinces where the Hindus are in a minority. It opposes Pakistan, wants unity under Hindu rule, favors federation with the princely states. Its president now is V. D. Savarkar. Other leaders are Pandit Malaviya and B. S. Moonje. The latter favors guerrilla warfare in case of Japanese invasion.

6. The Harijan Federation represents the interests of the untouchables. Their most prominent leader is Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, leader of the untouchables, who was educated at Columbia University and now practices law in Bombay. He is contemptuous of Gandhi's adherence to the caste system and opposes Congress rule out of fear of Hindu caste rule, and wants complete abolition of caste to free the untouchables, although Gandhi and Congress oppose the latter and have a large following in the untouchables.

7. The National Liberal Federation, favoring dominion status, has little mass following but are influential.

8. The Democratic Union Party is led by M. N. Roy, once known as a radical but now for collaboration with Britain in the war.

9. The Democratic Swaraj Party is another small group which opposes Congress. Like Roy's group, it wants self-rule within the British orbit.

The main points of conflict within India, then are: Hindus vs. Moslems, Congress vs. Moslem League, British India vs. the Indian Princes, Congress vs. the Princes, Brahmans vs. other Hindus, caste Hindus vs. untouchables. Underlying all of these conflicts, however, is one of far greater importance: The Indian people and Congress vs. the British.

F. Attitudes of Indians Toward Foreign Nations

1. Great Britain. British rule is cordially disliked by most Indian political parties, but is acceptable to the Indian Princes, to some of the business interests, and to old-time "liberals" and their followers. It is noteworthy that every major political group with a mass base has come out for independence, rather than for dominion status or some other compromise.

The Indian nationalists want a middle-class, not a proletarian, revolution. The issues, in order of importance, are:

1. The constitutional issue
2. Certain economic issues
3. Questions of social reform

1. The constitutional question. The British crown and parliament retain ultimate power over India. The Indians remember the brutal early methods used by the British. The concessions made by the British, notably in 1919 and 1935, have not satisfied Indian desire for self-rule; rather, they have whetted it. Only full self-rule will solve this question. Further, the British support the medieval system of Princely States, over the protests of the people.

2. Economic issues. Britain uses India as a place to invest funds, and does not try to make India self-sufficient industrially, the nationalists charge. They object to the riches taken out of India during British rule, which are dramatically compared with the extreme poverty of the Indian people. The Indian peasant, with an income of perhaps $25 to $40 a year, pays a tenth to a fifth of his income for taxes, at least as much again for rent or interest unless he owns his land outright (which few peasants do).

3. Social issues. Only an eighth of the population is literate, after two centuries of British rule. Disease and death rates are very high, life expectancy correspondingly low. In recent years only 7 per cent of the combined government budgets in India went for education and 3 per cent for public health, while 30 per cent went to support the army, which in turn was often used against the Indian people. Social and racial discrimination on the part of the British is also resented.

The British point out that they have built railways and irrigation systems and have otherwise bettered the lot of the Indians, although the Indians retort that they have been charged plenty for such improvements. The British cite India's 80 years of peace since the Sepoy Meeting; the Indians argue that they were dragged into the First World War, without getting their promised self-government in return. The British point out that their returns on Indian investments are reasonable and add that famines have been brought under control since 1900. Total national wealth has also increased, as shown by the rise in population, although not in per capita wealth. Taxes under the British are lower than they were under the Moghuls, the British claim correctly. Adequate educational and health facilities, says Britain, must wait upon the improvement of conditions within India, for the Indian people could not support and would not countenance universal, compulsory free education and medical care, especially if the various castes and religions were thrown together in the same institutions. As for the constitutional question, India cannot expect to get self-rule, say the British, until internal factionalism diminishes, and a constitution is agreed on by all parties. But the Indians claim that the British have done little to end this factionalism, indeed that they have even aggravated it, purposely or not, by playing one group against another.

As a result of Indian feelings, and of the long history of repression of Indian nationalism, most Indians feel that Britain is their first and most immediate enemy. It is likely that British appeals for support against the Axis will have little effect; the Indians are like the Irish in that respect. Effective appeals must come from outside the British Empire.

2. The United States. Most Indians know very little about this country (and vice versa). Factors in our favor are:

a. We are a democracy and have broken away from British rule.

b. Our achievements in education, industrialization, etc., are admired by Indian progressives such as Nehru.

c. We have made a good impression by offering the Philippines independence on a definite date.

d. We have been willing to hear the side of Indian nationalism. Leading magazines such as Asia, Fortune, Harpers, The Nation, etc., have printed articles by Nehru and other nationalist leaders.

On the other hand, these factors operate against us:

a. We are now allied with Great Britain and have sent troops to India, which act seems suspicious to Gandhi and other leaders. On May 2, the Congress working committee went on record as opposed to interference "by any foreign nation, whatever the professions of that nation may be."

b. Our racial prejudices, and especially our treatment of the negro, are resented, and this has been used against us by Axis propagandists.

Nevertheless, if we can prove our interest in India without trying to influence Indian politics, we should be in an excellent position to propagandize the Indians. It can and should be demonstrated that we have no ulterior motives.

3. China. Indian nationalists have always been sympathetic to China's resistance to Japan. Nehru and Chiang Kai-shek are personal friends. Nehru is on record several times as believing that India and China should work together and that "My own picture of the future is a federation which includes China and India, Burma and Ceylon, Afghanistan, and possibly other countries." But Chiang's influence was not strong enough to effect a settlement with Britain.

4. Russia. Nehru was very sympathetic toward Russia prior to the Nazi-Soviet pact. The Congress Communist Party is only a small minority, however. Moslems are fearful of Russian control of India, for religious and geographical reasons.

5. The Axis Powers. Gandhi, Nehru, Azad and Rajagopachalariar have in the past all made strong statements in opposition to Axis aggression. Nehru has stated, "I consider it my duty to oppose any foreign invasion of India"; "800,000,000 Chinese and Indians will be a power in crushing the Japanese"; and "the sympathies of Congress must inevitably lie with the people who are subject to aggression...and are fighting for their

freedom." Maulana Azad declared on April 30 that whatever India's internal problems, she would fight to the death against aggression, and that "some aggressor nations have designs to fly their flags on our soil, but we will prevent that even at the cost of our lives." The Madras Party in April adopted a resolution which said, "It is impossible to think in terms of neutrality or passivity during invasion by an enemy power."

On the other hand, Gandhi now favors the policy of nonviolent resistance against any invaders and closing the door to further negotiations with Great Britain, and at present has the support of Congress. Nehru, while not going quite this far, says "We can only cooperate as free men and a free national government with others who acknowledge us as such." Nonviolent resistance might be a considerable obstacle to Japan, since strikes and other non-military acts might be involved. In fact, since the supply of arms is limited, it may be a desirable development. It would be easy to organize, since it is consistent with Hinduism and with India's recent experience. Many Indians feel that non-violent resistance will be more effective. Only a few take the stand that a Japanese victory is inevitable and India should make the best of it, in spite of the poor showing made by British armies in Asia. The younger generation of nationalists and Indian youth generally tend to favor active military resistance against any invasion--an attitude which should be maintained and strengthened by the judicious use of propaganda from America.

Strength of fifth column elements is difficult to assess. Subhas Chandra Bose, former Bengal Congress Party leader, is the only outstanding figure to go over to the Axis; but his influence is probably small, except possibly in Bengal, unless Axis propaganda has built up a following for him in recent weeks. In 1938, he was elected president of Congress with Gandhi's backing, as a gesture to Bengal which had not been so honored since 1922. When Bose ran again successfully in 1939, Gandhi opposed him, and later forced him out of office; but Bose took over a third of the working committee with him. He then organized the Forward Bloc within Congress, but it did not get much support even from other radical factions. Bose fled India in 1941 after more friction with Congress leaders and the British.

As matters now stand, India as a whole is anti-Japanese. There are a number of groups lead by Nehru, Rajagopalachariar, Azad, Hyat Khan and others who wish to oppose the Japanese with full military measures. Some of these leaders, such as Nehru, feel that the Indians should be armed and operate independently of the British. Others wish to give the maximum support to the British. Another class of leadership, represented by Ghandi, does not believe that armed resistance by Indians can be effective, or that it is even desirable. They wish to resist by non-violent non-cooperation. It should be recognized that this method could provide a great deal of trouble to an invading force.

At this time Congress has adopted the latter plan; partly it believes in it as a philosophy, partly it considers it the only kind of resistance open to Indians who are without arms. Many Congress leaders regret that no arms could be provided to the civilian population even if the civilians would use them, because there are not enough arms in India even to arm the present troops. Partly, too, the Congress has adopted this program as a reproof to the British for leaving India inadequately defended, and for not training Indians to conduct their own defense.

G. Languages and Literacy

1. Languages. Some 76 per cent of the Indian people (in northern and central India) speak Indo-Aryan tongues, 21 per cent (in south India) Dravidian tongues.

a. Some 80,000,000 people spoke "Hindustani" in 1931, including many Moslems as well as Hindus. Over 90 per cent of these speak the dialect known as "Western Hindi." This language has spread to many parts of India, having been promoted by Gandhi and other Congress leaders as a "second language," and in 1941 it was estimated by one one source that it was understood by 139,000,000 Indians.

b. Bengali was spoken by 53,000,000 inhabitants of Bengal and Assam Provinces, Hindus and Moslems alike. It is a literary language, Tagore and other great literary men having been Bengalis.

c. Bihari was spoken by 28,000,000, mainly Hindus, in Bihar Province.

d. Marathi. 21,000,000, around Bombay.

e. Punjabi. 16,000,000, mainly Muslims and Sikhs in the Punjab.

f. Gujerati. 11,000.000.

g. Principal Dravidian languages are Telegu (26,000,000), Tamil (20,000,000), Kanarese (11,000,000) and Malayalam (9,000,000), spoken around Madras and throughout Southern India. These use a different script from that used by the Indo-European languages (a - f, above).

h. English is a second language for practically all educated Indians, of the type likely to have shortwave radios. Probably 6 per cent of all Indians can understand spoken English, although the proportion is much higher in the cities.

It may be significant that the native languages used on paper money in India are Urdu and Hindi (the Muslim and Hindu script versions of the Hindustani spoken language), Bengali, Tamil, Telegu, Kanarese, Gujerati, and Burmese.

By way of summary, English and Hindustani are of primary importance in radio communication, with Bengali third (and essential if the strategic area of Bengal, where Subhas Chandra Bose comes from, is to be reached). Tamil, and perhaps Telegu, would be needed to attract a native audience in Southern India; and Punjabi is important in appealing to the Moslems and Sikhs of the Punjab.

We understand that Allan H. Fry of the FIS in New York has made a special report on languages in India, which should make further details on this subject unnecessary.

2. Literacy. In 1941, 12 per cent of the people (but only 5 per cent of the women) were literate. Less than 2 per cent were literate in English, however.

H. Mass Communications

1. Radio Facilities. The total number of broadcast receiver licenses in effect in British India on November 30, 1941 was 143,812, an increase of 26,000

over a year earlier. One authority has it that an average of five persons listens to each radio; many are in public places, and have much larger audiences. The number of shortwave receivers in India is unknown, although it might be estimated from the sales of American companies. Most receivers would be in the hands of the educated class in the cities.

The All-India radio, with a 100 kilowatt shortwave transmitter at Delhi, is one of a chain of eight or more stations which broadcast to India over medium and shortwave. The Delhi station transmits news and other programs by wire to these other stations at Bombay, Lahore, Lucknow, and Peshawar. It is not under the direct control of the British government, although it shows a generally pro-British slant on the war news and relays to the India people certain BBC programs of major importance. Programs are broadcast in English, Hindustani, Pushtu, and other languages, a total of sixteen. The content of these programs will be discussed below.

2. Motion Pictures. There has recently been a decrease in box office attendance at British movies and an increasing demand for Indian pictures. In the year ending March 31, 1941, the Bengal Board of Censors reported that 54.7 per cent of all pictures shown in that province were American, 23.4 per cent Indian, 19.5 per cent British, 2.4 per cent others, indicating considerable familiarity with American life as interpreted by Hollywood.

II. ANALYSIS OF PROPAGANDA TO, AND WITHIN, INDIA

A. Background of the Propaganda Campaigns

For many months German and Japanese agents have been propagandizing the Indian people against Great Britain. According to newspaper reports, German agents from the Near East have scattered money, arms and pamphlets among the Northwest Frontier tribes to incite them to revolt against the British and to wage a "holy war" against the infidels (Hindus and British). They have made particular appeals to the Faqir of Ipi and the tribes of Wazirstan. Tokyo representatives in Kabul have made special appeals to the Afridi tribesmen. These have been reinforced by appeals by Berlin broadcasts in Pushtu, Brahui and similar dialects, inciting the Muslim tribesmen to revolt against the British and to invade, plunder and rule the Hindus areas of Northern India.[1] At the same time, Japanese salesmen of cheap cotton goods, trained in the Indian languages in a special government propaganda school in Nagasaki, are alleged to have spread their anti-British propaganda throughout the rest of India by word of mouth.[2] British influence over the press and radio in India has been used to counteract such propaganda to some extent; but Britain had been handicapped in this by growing anti-British sentiment among the Indians.

More recently, coming to a head with the Cripps' negotiations and the invasion of Burma, an extensive radio propaganda campaign has been directed toward India by Germany, Italy and Japan. Every trick known to the Axis has been utilized; and here again Britain has been handicapped by Indian opposition and by the inadequacy of London broadcasts in answering the combined broadsides of the Axis radios and those of their satellite states. It is this battle of the airwaves with which the following section is concerned.

In general, Axis propaganda typically follows this cycle or pattern: (1) wedge-driving, or creation of

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1/ Ray Brock in The New York Times, Jan. 28 and Feb. 7, 1942

2/ Constantine Brown in the Washington Star, Feb. 18 and April 3, 1942

dissension within enemy or potential enemy nations, or between them and their allies; (2) assertions of Axis strength and United Nations weakness; (3) promises of Utopian conditions if the Axis wins; (4) threats of dire punishment to those who remain unconvinced, if they oppose the Axis; and finally, (5) outright appeals to revolt and join forces with the Axis. This pattern applies very well to propaganda transmitted to India by Berlin, Rome, Tokyo, and their various puppet radio stations.

B. European Axis Broadcasts

1. The mechanics of Axis propaganda. The biggest guns in the Axis (or Tripartite) propaganda broadside are those of the European Axis. Berlin and Rome have been following a pro-Japanese rather than a pro-German or Italian line, perhaps because of the advantage derived from exploiting racial feelings and fears of imminent Japanese invasion. Not only do Zeesen (Berlin) and Rome broadcast regularly to India in Hindustani, but two European "freedom stations" broadcast daily in English and Hindustani: Radio Free India (Azad Hind), the station of Subhas Chandra Bose, known to be operated in Berlin, and Radio Himalaya, operating either in Berlin or Rome (according to conflicting reports from the BBC). Bose's statements have been broadcast not only in English and Hindustani, but also in Bengali, Marathi, Pushtu, Tamil and Telegu on occasion. His appeals may have an increasing effect, especially since the failure of the Congress to get independence for India out of the Cripps' negotiations.

Slogans are frequently used, such as "Freedom is the birthright of all Indians" (Zeesen); "It is the duty of every Indian to achieve freedom for his country" (Free India); and "Long live free India: may Britain be destroyed!" (Rome)

S. C. Bose's statements are given advance notice, repeated over and over, and quoted ad nauseum on all four stations. Tokyo radio features a quisling of its own -- one Rash Behari Bose, who has been living in Japan for the last 27 years and is no relation to S. C. Bose. For a time, he appeared to be a competitor of Berlin's Bose, but recently the Japanese-sponsored branch of the Indian Nationalists met in Bangkok and chose S. C. Bose as their leader, R. B. Bose as his

deputy. It is apparent that the Axis powers consider the Boses as their trump propaganda cards and that they intend to install a puppet government headed by them.

2. Analysis of strategic aims of Axis propaganda. BBC Monitoring reports covering the period February 20 through March 23 were analyzed to get a picture of the strategic aims implied in the broadcasts of the four European Axis statements broadcasting to India. While these summarized reports were by no means complete, it was possible to get a rough statistical picture of Axis strategy by taking each meaningful item as a unit, giving a weight of one to every six lines in the case of longer items, and assuming that all military communiques were favorable to the nation issuing them. News and non-news items were combined. Table I summarizes the main propaganda appeals:

TABLE I

EUROPEAN AXIS PROPAGANDA APPEAL TO INDIA, FEBRUARY 20 THROUGH MARCH 23, 1942

Basic Aims and Themes	"Free India"	Radio Himalaya	Radio Rome	Zeesen Radio	T
Total meaningful units:	404	193	166	92	
		Per cent Distributions			
Total	100	100	100	100	
A. Indians vs. United Nations	44	38	44	24	
1. Great Britain	37	34	37	22	
2. United States	3	2	2	2	
3. China	3	1	4	-	
4. Other	1	1	1	-	
B. Indians vs. Indians	1	24	2	3	
1. Muslims vs. Hindus	-	7	-	-	
2. People vs. Princes	*	1	-	-	
3. People vs. Congress	*	13	2	3	
4. Anti-Muslim leaders	*	1	-	-	
5. Anti-Jews	-	2	-	-	
C. Military references	35	8	34	46	
1. Axis strength	19	4	24	34	
2. Allied weakness	16	4	10	12	
D. Appeals for support of Axis	15	19	9	14	
1. Axis promises	2	3	3	1	
2. Axis stories	1	3	4	6	
3. Support S. C. Bose	11	4	1	4	
4. Support "free" radios	*	3	-	1	
5. Appeals to the Muslims	-	4	-	-	
6. Calls to action	*	2	1	2	
E. Miscellaneous pro-Axis items	3	1	4	7	
1. Dissension among Arabs	2	1	4	-	
2. Europe and Japan	1	-	-	7	
F. Other references	2	10	7	6	
1. Rapport building	-	9	1	1	
2. Attention getting	1	1	-	1	
3. Neutral	1	-	6	4	

* Less than .5 per cent

It is apparent from the table that primary stress was placed on splitting the Indian people away from the British, or keeping them from uniting with the British in this period. Secondary emphasis was on Axis military strength and Allied weakness. (Zeesen was apparently used when somewhat greater emphasis on Axis strength was desired, so as to preserve the "neutral" coloration of the clandestine stations.) Only on Radio Himalaya was there much of an attempt to stir up hatred and conflict among the Indian people, and this was concentrated mainly in attacks on Congress leaders and appeals to the Moslems to oppose Hindu rule, with occasional passages of anti-Semitism. On the other three stations, positive appeals for support of the Axis and its puppet Bose were third in importance. Radio Himalaya differed from the other stations also in its use of rapport-building items, such as the frequent recitation in Hindustani of poems by one Golib.

3. Propaganda themes of the European Axis radios. Following is a more detailed statement on how the main propaganda themes were implemented:

a. To set the Indians against the United Nations:

(1) Great Britain.

Past terrorism against the Indians, such as the massacre at Amritsar just after World War I is cited over and over again. This is supplemented with current atrocity materials such as the charge that Indian troops were put into the firing line in Malaya while the British retreated. Eight hundred Indian soldiers were shot in the back in Malaya to keep them from deserting to the Japanese, (FCC, Jan. 9), and other troops were massacred in North Africa. Two famous Indian screen stars were raped by a company of Australian soldiers near Bombay (FCC, March 16). The fighting in Burma has furnished additional propaganda material ranging from the alleged killing of priests at Pegu to the use of poison gas against the Japanese and natives.

Accusations are also made that Britain has drained India of her once great wealth, leaving her miserable in poverty and disease. Social

discrimination is charged: Indians, even of the Brahman caste, are excluded from British clubs and social functions.

Britain's war aims are alleged to be merely the continuation of her imperialism. Britain's promises are no good: she conveniently forgot the dominion status she promised India after the last war, until the present crisis forced her hand. Free India charges that she would sacrifice the lives of Indian soldiers to keep her empire, and Bose adds that if India is dragged into the war, Britain will desert her as she did the small European nations. British radio appeals are dismissed as hypocritical propaganda.

Attacks on leaders are frequent -- first on Churchill, then chiefly on Cripps as the false front for British imperialism, after his mission was announced. Secretary of State for India Amery, Viceroy Linlithgow, and General Wavell also come in for their share of attacks.

Alleged clashes of Indian troops with the British in North Africa and the Punjab are played up, and encouraged by statements that the British Empire is doomed. Calls for action against Britain are frequent: "Moslems and Hindus, unite!" Follow the instructions given by your compatriots of Radio Himalaya! Now is the time to strike for freedom!

These appeals are supplemented with warnings: Don't fight for Britain! Don't stand idly by if you would achieve freedom! Those helping the British are traitors!

(2) <u>The United States</u>.

The United States was said to be "meddling" in Indian affairs, especially with the dispatch of Colonel Johnson to Delhi by President Roosevelt. Our aims are purely imperialistic; the Grady commission to speed up war production is used to stimulate the fear that we want to share in India's wealth after the war. In any case, we are tools of the British. Furthermore

the United States is weak and divided internally: "The leader of the American Economic Mission is forced to admit that the United States is not even capable of giving promised help to India". "The Americans...(like) the English care only about India's potentialities as a supplier of arms" (FCC, April 28). Our race prejudice at home is shown by (a) our treatment of the Negroes and (b) our immigration laws, which permit only 500 Asiatics to come into the country each year.

(3) China.

Chiang Kai-shek and Mme. Chiang are also tools of the British. Chiang has been decorated by the British king and his troops are fighting side by side with the British in Burma.

(4) Russia.

The British are in league with the Bolsheviks and may even have promised them new territories in Persia and Northwestern India. (There were comparatively few such references, however.)

b. To set the Indians against each other:

The Muslims are warned: don't go to Bengal to fight the Japanese; the Mahasabhaiti will sacrifice you there. The Hindus want to put all Muslims to the sword; this is bad, since unity is needed. The Congress would exile all Muslims from Hindu parts of India, Muhammadans are told.

Nehru is alleged to be pro-British; he is motivated by "personal ambition" in his support of the British proposals (Rome, FCC, April 13). His statements against the Axis show that he is insane. He is part Jew; at least, he has consorted with Jews, and once referred to a Jewish woman as "mother". (Radio Himalaya) Azad has no following among the Muslims. Gandhi (when he appears to be anti-Axis) is a tool of the big Indian industrialists, bought and paid for. (This type of reference was never frequent, however, and is now replaced by praise.)

Appeals are made to the pacifism of the Hindus: if India comes to the aid of Britain, it will involve her in war or prolong the war.

c. Positive appeals for support for the Axis:

The Axis powers have only sympathy for the downtrodden people of India. Japan's Greater East Asia will bring freedom and prosperity to the Indian people. General Tojo guarantees that the Indians will be free under his "Asia for the Asiatics -- India for the Indians" policy. The Axis has only the noblest motives in this war, as contrasted with the imperialist motives of the Allies.

The greatest and wisest leader India has produced is Subhas Chandra Bose. He is brilliant, uncompromising! Charges that he is in the pay of the Axis, or that the Azad Hind radio is Axis operated, are pure British propaganda. He has the BBC worried plenty.

Muslims should trust the Axis: Hitler is "the defender of Islam", and Japan has already set the Muslims of the Netherlands Indies free. The Faqir of Ipi is a great leader. Punjabis should not fight Britain's battles for her.

Now is the time for Indians to act for freedom. A policy of "noncooperation" may bring freedom for India."

d. Military references.

Almost 80 per cent of all European Axis references to military strength referred to the Japanese. Germany came second; Italy was mentioned only on Rome radio, except for one reference to an Italian communique in a "Free India" broadcast.

Similarly, 72 per cent of all references to United Nations weaknesses were directed against the British. The United States came second, and India herself third. The British losses in Burma were emphasized; the naval battle in the Bay of Bengal, as well as the bombing of

Ceylon and Madras, were capitalized on for the obvious purpose of intimidating the Indians and prejudicing the Cripps' negotiations then going on. There were no references, however, to Chinese weakness or losses, and only two references (on Rome radio) to Russian weakness.

e. Miscellaneous pro-Axis news.

Incidental propaganda references were to the beautiful conditions obtained in Hitler Europe and Japan, and especially to dissidence and revolt among the Arabs of the Near East, Iran, etc. Subtle anti-Russian propaganda is used in connection with the occupation of Iran, with the implication that Britain is aiding in the spread of communism in Asia. The latter appeal is apparently intended to stir up the Indian Muslims against the British.

f. Other references.

Attempts are made to build rapport with the Indian audience by praising Indian culture, reciting poems, praising Gandhi, and advocating unity in India. "Anyone inciting trouble between Muslims and Hindus is dangerous." India must be united, but every province must be autonomous (Radio Himalaya). Inconsistencies between this line and divisive propaganda used elsewhere by the same station apparently do not worry the Axis.

Neutrality is sometimes feigned by the joke "freedom" stations, to build listeners' confidence. This is achieved by the inclusion of occasional news items which sound neutral or which have no apparent propaganda value at all.

g. General comments.

It is interesting to note that all of the Axis stations steer clear of attacks on the All-India Congress as such, and (with one or two exceptions) of attacks on Gandhi; they aim their attacks chiefly at Nehru. (Tokyo courted Nehru for a short time following his release from prison last December, but this was stopped

when he issued his recent anti-Axis statements, prior to the Cripps' negotiations.) Apparentl the Axis radio considered Gandhi to be a symbo so potent as to be above attack and/or hoped that he would take a stand in favor of "non-violent noncooperation" (aimed against the British) in the event of a Japanese invasion. There were likewise few attacks on Moslem leaders. There were, also, in this period, very few attacks on the United States, except as a "tool" of Great Britain; no references to the struggles of the Chinese, the Filipinos or other Asiatic peoples against the Japanese; practically no attacks on Russia; and nothing but vague generalities as to what inclusion in Japan's Greater East Asia implies. These omissions indicate some trepidation about antagonizing the Indians on these topics.

Another sore spot was shown by the violen reactions of Radios Himalaya and Free India when BBC tagged them as being operated by Berlin and Rome. Not only did they indignantl deny this statement, but just afterward Himalaya somewhat hesitatingly accused Japan of exaggerating one of her victories. It also said: "If we are attacked by any country, including Germany, Italy or Japan, we shall fight against it. We shall defeat the country or die gloriously in the attempt...Am I spreading Nazi, Fascist or Japanese propaganda This suggests that a thorough-going expose of these stations to the Indian people might destroy most of the effectiveness that they may now have.

When the Cripps' negotiations were first announced, the Axis stations were also profoundly shaken, and their commentaries for a few days showed that they pessimistically believed that Cripps would reach an understandin with Gandhi, Nehru, et al; but Subhas Chandra Bose soon furnished the inspiration for new attacks against the British, and especially Cripps, which may have been more effective tha we realize. (Berlin exultantly claimed late in April that Cripps told the House of Commons "his negotiations, owing to the propaganda of the Axis, had been rendered most difficult from the very beginning.") All this would seem to indicate that the Axis fears more than anything a compromise settlement between India and Britain.

C. Tokyo Radio's Propaganda Line.

Too few scripts are available of Japanese broadcasts to India to enable any detailed statistical analysis of them to be made. From those which were on hand, however, and from Tokyo references to India in broadcasts to North America and to the South Seas, a rough picture of Japanese propaganda strategy can be drawn.

Tokyo has been broadcasting to India in both English and Hindustani for the past two months or more. Japanese-controlled stations in Saigon and Bangkok, and German-controlled station XGRS in Shanghai, have added to the campaign in recent weeks. The main types of appeals are similar to those of the Berlin and Rome radios. The Tokyo line, however, is more direct than that of the European Axis, promises and threats bulking larger. Also, Japan's Greater East Asia policy is more stressed; Subhas Chandra Bose is rarely quoted, preference being given to Rash Behari Bose; and Tokyo is more apt to blunder, as when an appeal was made to Muslim and Buddhist sentiment in India (see below). There are two other major differences: Tokyo makes virtually no attempts to get the Indians fighting among themselves, except for a few references to friction among Congress leaders; rather, all parties are urged to unite in revolt against Britain. And Tokyo pays far less attention to European affairs than the Berlin and Rome radios pay to Japan's role in Asia.

Following is a brief summary of the Japanese propaganda line:

1. Indians vs. United Nations.

a. Great Britain. British oppression is traced from the time of Robert Clive, who "ruled with greed and a tyrannical mind. Everyone who opposed anything British was ruthlessly slaughtered.. .. Britain succeeded in causing great dissension among the peoples of different religious sects...." "Various massacres" are described on their anniversaries. British opium trading is alleged:

"Did you know that opium is grown in India only by the government and sold exclusively by the government? Did you know that there are 7,000 opium shops in India operated by the British government?"

It is charged that the British allow the Indians to "live, work and die to promote British interests" and that "British highbrows live in luxury while Indians sweat, starve and struggle". (FCC, April 7) British atrocities in Burma in the present war are alleged to include the use of poison gas, destruction of towns, and slaughter of Burmese civilians.

Attacks on British leaders are frequent. Churchill said in 1921 that he looked forward to dominion status to India, but ten years later said that India was not entitled to dominion status (April 7). Linlithgow and Cripps have also made false promises. "Should you bow to the proposals of Cripps, your hope for peace and freedom will be lost forever ... India will be swept into war immediately."

The Cripps mission was "intended to split India into three factions ... then Britain intends to maintain her traditional and crooked domination over the poor Indian people. "Cripps would have 'Indian blood and help against Japan'; otherwise he would say, 'to Hell with India.'" As for the Hindu Mahasabha party, it is "indignant at being ignored by Cripps". (April 7)

The Japanese air attacks on India, Tokyo threatens, are only a foretaste of what is to come if India opposes Japan. Such attacks are not aimed at the Indian people but against Imperial Britain. "If Indians remain under British rule ... India will suffer ... as a victim of Japan's campaign of annihilation of Britain."

Great unrest prevails, says Tokyo, in Lahore and other parts of India where the British authorities, in consternation, are attempting to prevent riots by spreading anti-Japanese propaganda. Jinnah and Nehru are warned not to go to London, but to recall the "fate of Burma's Premier U. Saw."

Premier Tojo combines threats and warnings:

> "If India should remain as before under the military control of Britain, it would, I am afraid, be unavoidable that in the course of our subjection of the British forces there, India will suffer great calamity..."

"Now is the golden opportunity for the Indians to exert their utmost efforts for the establishment of their long-desired 'India for the Indians' in order to secure India's status as it ought to be."

Tokyo also calls for a holy war. "In accordance with the spirit of Buddha and Islan, rise up to grasp the true doctrine of Mahatma Gandhi," says Tokyo. Shanghai adds, "India cannot remain isolated from the upheavals in Greater East Asia" (April 22) and Bangkok puts in its bit, "The people of India must rise now against the British before it is too late!" "Don't be 'fooled' again: 'It shall not be difficult to sweep away the handful of Britons and resurrect a glorious India for the Indians;" says Tokyo. (March 1.)

Rash Behari Bose is quoted, "..if India sides with Britain, she will lose all chance of being free." The strongest appeal yet made for revolt against India was voiced by R. H. Bose on May 5:

"The fate of the Burmese today will be that of the Indians tomorrow, if India does not rise at once to shake off the British yoke. For the British, driven out of Burma, are now planning to fall back on India and preserve their colony at the sacrifice of Indian blood..."

"Now is the time for the Indians to rise and sever all ties binding their mother country to Britain."

b. <u>The United States</u>. "The United States is frantically trying to drive India into war against the Axis ... attempting to suck the blood of the Indians," says Tokyo (April 6). Meanwhile "America remains idle and lets others fight and slave for her" (Hsinking, April 17). The Johnson mission is "Trying to persuade the Indian leaders to accept the Cripps plan ... American hands are meddling in India affairs...." Under domination of the democratic nations, India will be permanently enslaved in the light of what has been done by the nations of democracy (April 21). "The United States obviously harbors a desire to utilize the manpower and natural resources of India for her

own selfish ends (April 27)." "President Roosevelt intends to turn India into an American colony, just as he has done in the case of Australia and New Zealand." "Japan's enemies are only the British and Americans, and Japan entertains no antagonism against the Indian people." The following passage, broadcast on April 9, summarizes the Tokyo line with regard to the United States:

> "The United States, who is set to inherit the property of India as a successor to Britain, is beginning to interfere with affairs in the current British-Indian negotiations for the reason that should India attain her complete independence the property would not fall into American hands. President Roosevelt is planning to apply pressure on the leaders of India by sending Colonel Louis Johnson as his special envoy. He also expects to dispatch the Grady technical mission to India in order to establish a plan of economic exploitation. The Indian people are firmly determined to oppose the American approach, which is motivated by a desire to deprive India of her vast wealth."

c. China. China is weak and a tool of Britain, and India should ignore her, says Tokyo. "Abandon relations with Chungking, for it is working to delay further the grant of independence to India" (Feb. 25).

d. Russia. Russia is being used by Britain, which threatens India with the Red Army (April 8). Political agitators are entering India from the Soviet Union by way of Afghanistan.. British authorities are keeping a strict watch over the danger of bolshevization of India (April 15).

2. Appeals for support of Japan

Says General Tojo, "I firmly pledge, on behalf of the Japanese nation, that the Japanese people will in every possible way assist the Indians in their glorious movement" (for independence). "Japan's war of liberation in Greater East Asia affords the best possible opportunity for India to free herself from the shackles of imperialism, once and for all." General Hayashi tells Indian Muslims that "now is the time to

march onithe road to benevolence and peace with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other against the cutrages of Britain (April 3)." India has an opportunity to become a "hero nation... to become a link between Greater East Asia and Europe, enriching herself on the one hand and contributing to the progress of the world on the other..."

3. Military References

Anglo-American weakness in the Southwest Pacific is constantly stressed. Ceylon and Burma further prove the weakness of the British, says Rash Behari Bose. The Japan Times and Advertiser is quoted to the effect that India has been drained of her resources by the British defense effort, and that resistance by India "would simply add another gory chapter to the history of the war, which is already bloody with the tradgedies of Malaya and the Netherlands Indies" (April 13).

4. Other references.

Attempts are made to build rapport with the Indians by praising Gandhi as a "famous Indian patriot who has not as yet ceased his anti-British movement of many years' standing." He is quoted as opposing the scorched earth policy (March 30). Sympathy was expressed with Nehru after his release from prison last December, and during the Cripps negotiations he was quoted as saying that "the very structure of British Imperialistic rule has been and is such as to agitate our problems and not to solve any of them" (April 4). The action of the Moslem League in rejecting Cripps' demands is also quoted.

D. Recent Developments in the Axis campaign.

1. "Free India" Organizations

The Tripartite powers have sponsored a number of "free India" organizations in Europe and Asia. Berlin has its "Free India Association"of Hindus and Germans, which held a mass demonstration on the anniversary of the Amritsar Massacre. Italy also has its finger in the Indian pie. On December 31, Rome quoted the "former president of the Indian provisional government", now the

leader of the "Indian World Federation", as sending a friendly message to Il Duce. Again on April 29, Rome described the formation of a new "Friends of India" society, which included Mussolini, the German and Japanese ambassadors to Rome, the ex-premier of Iraq, the ex-king of Afghanistan, and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. This organization accused the United States of forcing Indians to forge weapons for their aggressors (Britain and the United Nations).

Tokyo also refers to an "Indian People's Committee" in Europe, which voices confidence in General Tojo's promises to the Indian people (February 24). Tokyo has organized the "East Asiatic League for Indian Independence"under R. B. Bose's leadership, and this organization is the mouthpiece for an increasing proportion of Japanese propaganda to India. Early in April, a five-day "Indian Independence Movement Conference", attended by delegations from Southwest Asia, came out for "India for the Indians" under Japanese guidance (April 10).

In Yokohama is another chapter of the "Indian Independence Association", which met January 26 to "offer prayers for the independence of India", says Tokyo.

Bangkok has its "League for Indian Independence", which claimed to have organized 30,000 Indian troops from Malaya into a "free" Army. Hongkong has its "Indian League of Freedom", whose leaders visit Japan frequently.

On April 26, Tokyo reported that 1,500,000 Indians of Shonan, Malaya and Thailand had formed an "Indian Independence League".

2. Subhas Chandra Bose's Campaign

The "Free India" station, featuring S.C. Bose, has become more and more open in its attempts to provoke the Indian people to revolt against England. At the end of March, this station was broadcasting code messages to its followers. Early in April, it transmitted a message to its "Delhi agents". It asserts, "We have heard with deep regret of arrests and imprisonments of a large number of Indian patriots... Our agents are requested to

send all our friends in jail a message of good cheer. They should be informed they will not have to stay in prison long..."

Radio Free India did all it could to sabotage the Cripps' negotiations, charging that the British were using the Moslem League as an excuse for refusing India outright independence. Said Bose, "The victory of the Tripartite powers would mean liberation from the British yoke. These powers are our natural friends and allies ... I can assure you that while they are pledged to fight and destroy British imperialism they have only sympathy for Indian Independence... Set aside all councils of cowardice and plunge into the fight."

On April 28 "Free India" announced that its partisans would land some of their exiled leaders by airplane somewhere in India, on May 4 and again on May 8. On May 7, Bose said on "Free India",

> "I announce to you now that the first batch landed safely at the appointed place, but owing to the mistakes of some people in India, they were not fully successful. People in India warned enemy agents by showing more light than was necessary. These agents began immediately to investigate and our members had to destroy their equipment. However, our members are safe and alive as no enemy agent was able to detect them. Parachutes were destroyed according to instructions. Our only regret is that we lost equipment our members took with them.
>
> "According to our plans, our second plane will arrive in India, May 8, between 2 a.m. and 3 a.m. We ask our agents to show only the amount of light specified in our instructions. If they act according to instructions, we hope to succeed May 8. I ask our agents, friends, and sympathizers, to look out for parachutists May 8 and to be prepared to help them in every way. They must be careful and must not make mistakes this time.."

Whether these broadcasts were merely propaganda stunts can be determined only by checking the reports of Indian authorities against the "Free India"radio announcements.

On May 2, Subhas Chandra Bose issued an impassioned appeal for collaboration with the Axis, and promised aid from an "international organization":

> "Already the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean have passed from the hands of British sea power. Think for a moment where India stands today. Do you want to dig your political grave by still hanging onto a power which will cease to exist? Isn't it better and far wiser to accept the hand of friendship which is being offered you by the Tripartite Powers, one that has found remarkable expression in the historic and epoch-making declaration of the Prime Minister of Japan?...
>
> "In May, 1942, will begin India's last war of independence. Then gird up your loins. The hour of India's salvation is at hand. We Indians who are outside India have been preparing for this, the last phase of our national struggle. An international organization will soon be at your service to fight and to win India's liberty and then build up a free India."

Finally, all Axis stations have taken the Congress resolution on "nonviolent non-cooperation" to mean "non-participation in the war against Japan".

E. British Broadcasts to India

During the period from March 27 through April 21, London broadcasts to India and the East in the English language were monitored fairly regularly by FCC. Two programs were given daily in this period -- "We speak to India", at 10:30 - 11 a.m., and "Through Indian Eyes", 11 - 11:10 a.m., EWT. British speakers were used on the first program, Indian speakers on the second.

The pattern of these programs is as different from that of the Axis broadcasts as the democratic way of life is different from that of Axis countries. Friendly appeals for support are made; occasional flashes of humor appear in the round table discussions of "We Speak to India", and much of the material, such as lectures on English literature, is of a cultural type and only indirectly propaganda. Even during the Cripps

negotiations there was no propaganda for a settlement with Britain, except for one glowing biographical sketch of Cripps.

Eleven "We Speak to India" programs and thirteen "Through Indian Eyes" scripts were analyzed. Of the total of 24 programs, only half were written or angled for an Indian or Singhalese audience. Nine of these were in the "Through Indian Eyes" series, of which six were directed to India and three (one each Thursday) to Ceylon. All of those to Ceylon were to some degree appeals for collaboration with the British in defense of Ceylon. Only three in the "We Speak to India" series were angled for India; none was written entirely for an Indian audience. Possibly this series is intended mainly for the British in India.

The London broadcasts, classified by their principal topics, were as follows:

1. "We Speak to India" : total scripts.....	11
Literary discussions	4
Conditions in Britain	3
Build-up for Stafford Cripps	1
Play: "Escape to Freedom" (Free French)	1
Counterpropaganda: "Voice of the Nazi"	1
Talk praising China and Soviets	1
2. "Through Indian Eyes" : total scripts.....	13
Appeals for collaboration	5
Military commentaries	2
Debunking of Axis propaganda	2
How to act during air raids	1
Emancipation of women in the world	1
Biographical sketch of London editor	1
Talk on dietetics	1

It is difficult to estimate the effectiveness of such broadcasts as these. The size of the audience must be considerable, if they are rebroadcast by All-India Radio, which we understand is the case. The chief aim of the London programs would seem to be to build feelings of rapport between Britain and India, and of quiet confidence in British strength. Secondary purposes are the encouragement of collaboration in defense of India and Ceylon, and the discrediting of Axis propaganda techniques. The use of Indian and Singhalese speakers for the attainment of these latter

aims is probably a good technique. It seems likely that, because of popular antagonism for Britain, this general orientation is a correct one; more violent appeals of the Axis type would probably get little response. At least, the London broadcasts probably draw some of the shortwave listeners who might otherwise be tuning in Zeesen, Shanghai or Tokyo, which stations are on at the same time as one or the other of the London programs.

F. Chinese Broadcasts

Chinese broadcasts in English have long appealed for an Indian-British rapprochement in the interests of effective resistance to Japan. Chungking was greatly disturbed by the breakdown of the Cripps negotiations, and appealed for a resumption of them, suggesting that China and the United States might mediate to break the deadlock.

Since sometime in April, Chungking has featured an "All-India radio commentator" named Karaka, in daily broadcasts. His function has been largely to interpret China to India, rather than to make direct appeals to the Indian people. He quotes Chiang Kai-Shek and other Chinese officials, however, on China's friendship for India and on the need for Indian co-operation with Britain.

G. The All-India Radio

The chain of nine broadcasting stations (with fifteen transmitters) which is known as All-India Radio is run by the Indian government independently of the British Broadcasting Corporation, although it carries some BBC programs. An analysis of its activities during November 1940 showed that it broadcast a total of 663 programs related to the war. Of these,

500 were talks and discussions,
66 were plays, feature programs, etc.,
97 were programs relayed from BBC.

The broadcasts in this period were centered mainly around the Russian front, Nazi repression in occupied Europe, and the growing tension in the Pacific area. No less than 30 news bulletins, totaling some 70,000 words, were broadcast daily during the two years ending with November 1941.

Indian music took up the bulk of the broadcast time on all stations. Of about 100 plays broadcast per month, less than a tenth were in the English language.

One of the transmitters at New Delhi, using 100 kilowatts of power since the end of 1941, has been monitored recently by FCC. An examination of scripts of a news program aired at 8:30 a.m. EWT during the period from February 16 to May 1 indicates that the broadcasts are of fairly routine nature; such propaganda content as there is lies in the pro-British coloring of war news, rather than in any overt propaganda appeals. The sole exceptions were quotations from prominent British and Indian leaders' statements in favor of collaboration against the threatened invasion. (No anti-British statements of Indian leaders were mentioned.)

Two-thirds of the 298 items analyzed were devoted to the war, and 47 per cent of these were on the war in Eastern Asia. The fighting in Burma led off with 14 per cent of all items, with the news from the Russian front and the Australian area tied for second place. There were only two references to the fighting in the Philippines. Eleven per cent of all items were devoted to United Nations solidarity.

Only 29 per cent of all items were concerned with India proper and a majority of these were related to the Cripps negotiations, which were of course headlined during Cripps' stay in India. Six per cent of all items were on the war in China or the exploits of Chinese troops in Burma. Friendly relations between China and India were stressed in several items. The impact of the war on India was treated in 9 per cent of all items, and this message was further brought home by the emphasis placed on the fighting in Burma.

The net effect of the Delhi broadcasts would be to make the Indians more aware of the war danger, and to encourage confidence in and collaboration with the United Nations. The obvious pro-British bias of the reportage, however, may have lessened its effectiveness.

III. SUGGESTIONS FOR PROPAGANDA TO INDIA

Following are some tentative suggestions for American propaganda to India, aimed at neutralizing Axis propaganda and bringing India into more active cooperation with the American forces in India and with the United Nations generally.

A. Channels of Propaganda

English-language broadcasts over station KGEI and others are undoubtedly heard by some Indians with shortwave radios. Therefore, some messages from this country might be sent into India by this channel. To reach a maximum radio audience, it would, of course, be highly desirable to buy time on the All-India network and broadcast a daily program over both short and medium waves from within India. In view of the small but increasing number of receivers in India, it would also be very desirable to use printed pamphlets, posters, booklets, etc. in all of the important Indian languages, to reach the people in the villages and towns throughout the country. Motion pictures, of the type of The River, newspaper releases on a regular basis, and phonograph records of the statements of Allied leaders, etc., in different languages, should all be used.

B. Timing of Broadcasts

When it is 12 noon Eastern War Time in Washington, it is 21:30 (9:30 p.m.) Indian Standard (Delhi) Time. The timing of various shortwave propaganda programs beamed to India is therefore about as follows, based on programs recently monitored by FCC:

Broadcaster	EWT	Indian Standard Time
Saigon (Jap. controlled)	6:30 - 6:45 a.m.	4 - 4:15 p.m.
Delhi news, shortwave	8:30 - 4:00 a.m.	6 - 6:10 p.m.
Chungking	9:30 -10:00 a.m.	7 - 7:30 p.m.
Radio Himalaya (Berlin?)	10:15 a.m.	7:45 p.m.
Zeesen (Berlin)	10:30 -11:00 a.m.	8 - 8:30 p.m.
London to India	10:30 -11:10 a.m.	8 - 8:40 p.m.
Shanghai (XGRS)	10:45 -11:00 a.m.	8:15 - 8:30 p.m.
Tokyo	11:00 -11:30 a.m.	8:30 - 9:00 p.m.
Free India (Berlin)	11:30 a.m.	9:00 p.m.
Rome	12:15 p.m.	9:45 p.m.

No information is available on the timing of Japanese broadcasts to India from Bangkok. Formerly, broadcasts were also transmitted in Hindustani from Singapore (4:45 and 7:30 p.m. IST), and Rangoon (7 p.m. IST). At last reports, Ankara was also broadcasting to India at 9:45 p.m. IST. (These times are converted from the British and Indian 24-hour basis to p.m. time.)

The indication is, from the evidence presented above, that the optimum time for broadcasts to India is from about 7 to 9 in the evening, or 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. Eastern Standard Time.[1]

C. Speakers

If possible, newscasters and commentators should be Indians or Americans who have lived in India for a long time. Possibilities would be Anup Singh of San Francisco, editor of the All-India Congress organ in this country; Krishnalal Shridharani, former Gandhi follower, now in New York. Other Orientals speaking English -- as Chinese, Filipinos -- could well be used also. W. Norman Brown, here in COI, has a knowledge of India and the Hinsustani language that would be most useful if he could make some "platters", or at least serve as a consultant in the planning of programs featuring American speakers. (We understand also that Mr. Fry has been in contact with various speakers in many languages. Speakers and script writers are now available in Persian, Pushtu, Hindustani, Bengali, Marathi, Gujerati, Tamil, Telegu, and Malayan.)

In South India, where there is some anti-Brahman feeling it might be best to use a member of the Shudra or other non-Brahman class. In other parts of India, Brahmans would tend to have the most prestige, although this would depend on the individual speaker.

D. Suggested Emphases and Content of U.S. Propaganda

In general, United States propaganda should be directed toward the Indian nationalists of Congress persuasion, since they predominate in shaping public opinion. It is important also to reach the Muslims,

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[1] This is substantiated by a series of personal interviews by A. H. Fry of the New York office, with recent arrivals.

since they are a very strategic group, and need to be won away from Pakistan. It should take a positive tone, and not "meddle" or give advice regarding India's internal affairs. It should be acceptable not only to Hindus and Moslems, but also insofar as possible to nationalists, pro-Britishers, business interests, leftists, Sikhs, etc.

The following types of material should be avoided:

1. Narrow religious appeals to any special groups in India would be dangerous. Religious appeals should be worded in very general terms, so as not to offend any group. References to Christianity which imply that we consider that religion superior would be very bad; but we should not disclaim Christianity.

2. Anything that could be interpreted as "talking down" to the Indians is bad. They are proud. Praise them when possible. Avoid bragging.

3. Unnecessary references to our ties with Britain should be avoided, and stress placed on the larger aspects of the war. America should never plead the British cause.

These types of material should be emphasized:

1. Our friendship for India.

2. The fact that India is the natural prey of Japan, who has no scruples in her methods of conquest and exploitation.

3. Our association with China, and with the United Nations as a group, in the fight against Japan.

4. Our desire to end all aggression and warfare everywhere in the world and that we have no ulterior motives.

The Axis radio has a certain advantage over ours in that it can exploit hatred of the British, and can use Subhas Chandra Bose as a mouthpiece; but we should be able to offset this, if facilities are available to us, by avoiding too close association with the British in our appeals and by exposing the Axis

techniques of imperialism and propaganda. We will not be able to propagandize with maximum effectiveness until there is a "Pacific Charter" of freedom for the native peoples of Asia, and for a settlement of the India question. Meanwhile, however, the following angles should be of some value in winning over the Indian people:

1. To build rapport between India and the U.S.

a. The following attitude, predominate among the American people, should be explained to India:

(1) We recognize India's great contributions to world civilization; we know and admire Gandhi, Nehru and the writings of Tagore; and have always welcomed Indian leaders, students, etc. to the U.S. Many American universities have courses in Indian literature and culture. (Cite examples.)

(2) We are in sympathy with India's desire for self-government, and hope a settlement will be reached with Britain.

(3) We have great admiration for the Oriental peoples' fight against Japan -- especially the Chinese and Filipinos.

(4) We are anxious to see the Indians place their full strength behind the United Nations, so that we may work together in support of our common democratic ideals and in opposition to fascist aggression.

b. Use personal messages of Americans to their Indian friends in India, of Indians in America to India, and of Americans to the American troops in India and vice versa.

c. Cite articles by Nehru, Singh, Shridharani, and also Muslim writers in American publications occasionally. Quote Gandhi, Nehru, Azad. Cite also writings of Americans about India whenever possible.

d. Emphasize American hatred of aggression, and desire to help defend India from Japanese and other aggression.

e. Stress similarity of certain problems in India and the U.S. -- problems of poverty among sharecroppers, erosion, etc., and what we are doing about them under the New Deal. Discuss our dairy sanitation and techniques, the Social Security Act, the TVA, Grand Coulee, labor unity, dietetics, etc. Display proper humility, since our problems aren't all solved either.

2. To build confidence in, and to encourage collaboration with, the United Nations:

a. Stress first of all China's gallant struggle for the past four years, her still great resources, and especially her role as the real leader of the fight for a free Asia. Also, India has an historic responsibility, as a base of supplies for China.

b. Give due credit to the bitter resistance put up by Filipino and American troops in the Philippines.

c. Stress all victories of the American and United Nations armed forces in the Pacific.

d. Tell the story of America's tremendous war production, translated into "so many planes per day", etc.

e. Stress the danger to India resulting from the occupation of most of Burma and the Andaman Islands, and the bombing of Ceylon, Madras, etc. Emphasize the growing air facilities of the United Nations for dealing with this menace.

f. Stress our war aims. Do not refer to the Atlantic Charter. Cite evidences of American public opinion regarding the post-war world. Cite Fortune Polls, Federal Council of Churches, etc. to show how opinion is running, independently of government policy.

g. Emphasize what India has to gain from complete cooperation with the democracies. Under prevailing trends in the anti-fascist countries, freedom of colonial peoples is increasing; under fascist rule, only the "super-races" (Nazi and Japanese) would ever be free.

h. Cite Indian trends toward greater resistance, such as organization for guerrilla warfare, etc. Have Indian speakers cite both Hindu and Muslim scriptures in justification of armed resistance. Don't appeal to pacifists to take up arms, however; rather stress "from each according to his ideals and abilities". The use of "non-cooperation" in resisting Japan could also be stressed.

3. To de-bunk Axis propaganda to India:

a. Expose the fascist propaganda techniques:

(1) wedge-driving, (2) assertions of military power, (3) promises, (4) threats, and (5) appeals for revolt.

b. Fake freedom stations: Expose the use of Subhas Chandra Bose as a puppet of the Nazis, the absurdity of Rash Behari Bose's claim to leadership, the false front put up by Radios Free India and Himalaya. (The Axis radios are very touchy and very vulnerable on these points.) Quote Nehru on S. C. Bose's fascist leanings (see his autobiography).

c. "Asia for the Asiatics" or "India for the Indians" propaganda:

(1) Cite Japan's record in Korea, Manchukuo, China, and Southeast Asia.

(2) Cite recent Japanese statements regarding Southeast Asia, such as the following Japanese language broadcast made on May 4:

"An economic structure necessary for the defense of Greater East Asia shall be established. The various administrations of the occupied areas shall supply the nation's war strength. The various countries in the Greater East Asia Sphere shall extend mutual cooperation and their special nature resources shall be developed to the greatest extent... These countries must extend their cooperation in line with the progress of war. Japan must carry out a program ... effecting a complete reorganization of the internal structure of the various countries. The people of the various countries in the Greater East Asia Sphere must cooperate under the supervision of the military administration."

(3) Make predictions as to the exploitation and impoverishment of Burma as Japan takes over her rice exports; the failure of the Japanese to make good their promises regarding the political independence of Burma, the Philippines, the Netherlands East Indies, etc.

(4) Point out tremendous importance of India to Japan, and how she would therefore be likely to hang onto India. She would eliminate her textile industry to create a market for Japanese textiles, etc.

(5) Quote Japanese authorities on their destiny to rule Asia and the World.

d. To combat Axis religious propaganda:

(1) Quote Axis appeals to Moslems to turn against Hindus (see BBC Monitoring reports on Radio Himalaya broadcasts of March 7, 11, 17, 20, 21). Compare with hypocritical appeals for "unity" over Axis transmitters.

(2) Tell over and over again the story of Nazi persecution of Jews, Lutherans, Catholics in Germany.

(3) Point out warlike nature of Japanese religions -- Shinto and Nichiren Buddhism. Point out complete inconsistency between these and the Hindu ethical ideal of ahinsa.

(4) Do not oppose or criticize the Hindu and Congress policy of non-violent resistance. Indicate respect for the pacifistic philosophy of Gandhi, and direct any appeals for more active resistance toward those without religious scruples on this score.

(5) Play up the United States as an essentially peaceful nation, except when aroused by an attack -- the role of Wilson in starting League of Nations, etc.

e. To offset Japanese racial propaganda to India:

(1) Quote Japanese statements on their own racial superiority. Show how this operates in Korea, etc.

(2) Use occasional news items indicating rising status of Negroes in this country -- their participation in the armed forces, deeds of heroism, etc. For example, the awarding on May 11 of the Navy Cross by President Roosevelt to Doris Miller, 23-year old mess attendant, who became a hero at Pearl Harbor, could be given some prominence, and Miller's story told in detail; and the Chinese cook on the Marblehead cited for heroism a few days earlier. (Do not meet Japanese charges of racial discrimination in the United States head on, as this forces us into a defensive position.)

(3) Describe the racial theories of Japan's allies, the Nazis, giving such quotations as the following statement by Hitler in Mein Kampf:

> "Those Indian rebels will never succeed. ... I as a German greatly prefer to see India under British government than under any other.... As a man who estimates the value of mankind on racial lines, I must not connect the fate of the German people with these so-called 'oppressed nations' who are clearly of racial inferiority."

f. To nullify Japanese atrocity propaganda:

(1) Cite atrocities of the Japanese, and show how they charge atrocities to the United Nations' forces in order to distract attention from their own misdeeds.

(2) Show how the Japanese appealed to racial feelings when the British placed some Indian troops in front-line fighting in Malaya; then, later, bragged about doing the same thing themselves in the fighting on Cebu.

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